

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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R 130900Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9224
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 198

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR YO
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH MIHAJLO MARKOVIC

1. SUMMARY: IN LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS
PROF MIHAJLO MARKOVIC, ONE OF BELGRADE 8, EXPRESSED HIS
VIEWS ON NUMBER OF CURRENT ISSUES, INCLUDING DOLANC'S
FUTURE. MARKOVIC BELIEVES THAT DOLANC IS NOT A STRONG
CONTENDER TO SUCCEED TITO BECAUSE HE LACKS A FIRM
REPUBLICAN POWER BASE. HE SAID DOLANC IS TRYING TO OFFSET
THIS DEFICIENCY BY SPENDING MORE TIME IN SLOVENIA SEEKING
LOCALLY-BASED SUPPORT. MARKOVIC ALSO UTTERED VIEW HEARD
HERE WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY THAT GOY IS EXPECTED TO
TRY TO AVOID REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN PRE-BELGRADE 77
PERIOD. END SUMMARY.

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2. MARKOVIC TOLD EMBOFFS THAT DOLANC'S ACTUAL POWER
DEPENDS SOLELY ON HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH TITO. WHEN TITO
DIES, THE RELATIONSHIP WILL DISAPPEAR, AND DOLANC WILL

FPT HAVE A SUFFICIENTLY STRONG POWER BASE TO SUPPORT HIM.
MARKOVIC FELT TITO'S PRESENT FAVORING OF DOLANC WILL NOT
BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR AFTERWARD.

3. ACCORDING TO MARKOVIC, DOLANC'S PROBLEM RELATES TO THE REAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN THE COUNTRY. BELOW THE TOP FEDERAL-LEVEL LEADERSHIP, POWER RESTS WITHIN THE REPUBLICS. HE SAID THIS IS TRUE IN THE LCY AS WELL AS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE MECHANISM. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, A REPUBLICAN POWER BASE IS NECESSARY TO VIE FOR FEDERAL LEADERSHIP. DOLANC DOES NOT HAVE SUCH A BASE. KARDELJ RECOGNIZES THIS AND HAS BEEN TRYING TO HELP DOLANC DEVELOP SUPPORT IN THEIR NATIVE SLOVENIA. DOLANC'S RECENT FREQUENT APPEARANCES IN SLOVENIA ARE A MANIFESTATION OF THE PREPARATION THAT HE MUST GAIN LOCAL SUPPORT.

4. DESPITE VIEWS OF OTHER OBSERVERS, MARKOVIC STATED DOLANC DOES NOT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY EITHER. HE WAS A LATE-COMER TO THE WAR AND HIS COLONOLCY WILL NOT PERSUADE THE GENERALS TO RALLY AROUND HIM.

5. MARKOVIC DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON WHO WOULD EMERGE BUT STATED INSTEAD THE POST-TITO LEADERSHIP COMPLEXION WILL DEPEND ON THE "GROUPS" WHICH HAVE BEEN AND ARE NOW FORMING AND ON "WHO IS FRIENDS WITH WHOM".

6. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, MARKOVIC STATED SIX PRAXIS PROFESSORS ARE PLANNING TO PARTICIPATE IN A SEMINAR ON SOCIALISM TO BE HELD AT DUBROVNIK CENTER IN LATE MARCH-EARLY APRIL. HE WONDERED ALOUD WHETHER GOY WILL PERMIT THIS BUT EXPRESSED BELIEF WIDELY HELD THAT GOY IN GENERAL WILL HAVE TO REFRAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM REPRESSIVE MEASURES TO AVOID ATTRACTING UNFAVORABLE PUBLICITY IN PERIOD BEFORE BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE. LATTER POINT, HE STATED, ALSO APPLIES TO DECISION TAKEN BY MAJORITY OF MEMBERS OF BELGRADE UNIVERSITY PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY TO CONDUCT SEMINARS ON MORALITY IN PUBLIC LIFE DESPITE OPPOSITION BY FACULTY'S DEAN WHO ARGUED THAT LCY ALSO OPPOSED.

7. COMMENT: CLEARLY MAKROVIC'S CRYSTALL BALL IS AS OPAQUE AS OURS. HOWEVER, WHILE A DISSIDENT IN GOY'S EYES, HE STRIKES US AS A PERCEPTIVE OBSERVER WITH HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS. WE SUBMIT HIS VIEWS NOT WITH OUR ENDORSEMENT BUT RATHER TO SUPPORT OUR OWN CAUTIONARY THAT NOT EVERYONE BELEIVES DOLANC IS THE ONE AND THAT THERE ARE INTERESTING, AND EVEN SOME PERSUASIVE REASONS FOR MAINTAINING SUCH A STANCE.
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